John Carter Brown.

BOUND BY F. BEDFORD

A TRVE DECLARATION OF THE estate of the Colonie in VIRGINIA,

With a confutation of such scandalous reports as haue tended to the disgrace of so worthy an enterprise.

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A true declaration of the estate in VIRGINIA.

THERE is a great distance, betwixt the vulgar opinion of men, and the iudicious apprehension of wise men. Opinion is as blind *Oedipus*, who could see nothing, but would heare all things, *Hinc aucupari verba rumoris vagi*, to hawke after the winged report of a vagabond rumor. But iudgement, is as *Salomon* in his throne, able by the spirit of wisedome, to discerne betwixt *contesting* truth, and falshood: neither depending on the popular breath of fame, which is euer partiall, nor vpon the euent of good designes, which are euer casuall. These two commanders of our affections, haue diuided the vniuersall spirits of our land, whilst (in the honorable enterprise for

plantation in *Virginia*) ſome, are caried away with the tide of vulgar opinion, and others, are encouraged, by the principles of religion, and reaſon. But becauſe, it is for hawkes and not for men, to build their neſts in aires, and becauſe the honor and proſperity of this ſo noble an action, is eclipſed by the interpoſition of clamorous & tragicall narrations: the compiler of this relation endeuoureth to waſh away thoſe ſpots, which foule mouths (to iuſtifie their owne diſloialty) haue caſt vpon ſo fruitfull, ſo fertile, and ſo excellent a country. Wherein he profeſſeth, that he will relate nothing (concerning *Virginia*) but what he hath from the ſecrets of the iudiciall councell of *Virginia*, from the letters of the Lord *La Ware*, from the mouth of Sir *Thomas Gates*, whoſe wiſedomes (he conceiueth) are not ſo ſhallow, as eaſily to be deceiued *of others*, nor conſciences ſo wretched, as by pretences to deceiue others.

But when a matter of ſuch conſequence, is not to be ſhufled ouer with ſupine negligence, and when no man raiſeth a faire building, that laith not a firme foundation, it will

not

not be impertinent, to dig a little deeper, that we may build a great deale higher: and from the vniuerſall policie of all ciuill ſtates (in repleniſhing the world with colonies of domeſticall ſubiects) to deriue this wiſedome to our populous ſtate and country.

That which *Origen* ſaid of Chriſts actions in vertues morall, holdeth proportion with Gods actions in gouernment politicall, *Dei facta, ſunt noſtra præcepta*, Gods actions, are our inſtructions: who (in the eleuenth of Geneſis) turned the greateſt curſing, into the greateſt bleſsing, and by confuſion of tongues, kept them from confuſion of ſtates; ſcattering thoſe clouen people, into as many colonies ouer the face of the earth, as there are diuerſities of languages in the earth. Now if *Tertullians* rule be true, *Omne genus ab origine cenſendum* that euery action is moſt beutifull in the originall. Can there be a better beginning then from God, whoſe wiſedome is not queſtioned, and whoſe footſteps in all ſucceeding ages haue beene followed. Search the records of diuine truth, and humane monuments of ſtate, you ſhall find, *Salmanaſar* tranſporting the Babilo- Colonies.

nians,

mans, and other Gentiles, to *Samaria*: and repleniſhing with the captiues of Iſraell, the diſpeopled confines of *Media*.

You ſhall find that 140. yeeres after the deſtruction of *Troy* the *Ionian* colony, was carried from *Greece*, to *Aſia*: by which that famous City of *Epheſus* was firſt builded, and inhabited. You ſhall find the Egiptians, planted *Babilon*, *Argos*, and *Athens*. The Phenicians firſt inhabiting *Carthage*, *Vtica*, and *Thebes*. That *Timolcon* and the city of *Corinth*, at one time repeopled *Sicilie*, with 10000. ſoules. That the Romans deduced 53. colonies out of the City of *Rome* into the wombe of *Italy*. That *Bremius* an Engliſhman by birth, but ſonne in law to the King of *France*, with an equall third part of the kingdome, entred into the hart of *Italy*, gaue the prime ſacke to the City of *Rome*, and diuerted from thence to *Gallogræcia*, whoſe ofſpring poſſeſſe that land vnto this day.

That the Admirall of *France*, among all the feares and diſcouragements of ciuill wars, neuer gaue ouer the proiect of plantation in *Florida*.

Which heroicall actions, haue not beene vnder-

vndertaken by ſo mighty ſtates and Princes, vpon triuiall and vulgar motiues, when by theſe courſes that firſt bleſſing (of *creſcite* and *multiplicamini*, increaſe and multiplie) hath beene ſanctified: the meaner ſorte haue beene prouided: the matter of plagues, famine and ſedition, hath beene exhauſted: the fennes of a ſtate politique were drained: the enemies of their peace were bridled: the reuenues of their treaſury were augmented: and the limites of their dominions were enlarged.

Which diuine, humane, externall, and domeſticall, examples, doe ſhine before vs, as a *Pharaoes* towre, that wee ſhould not make ſhipwracke of our intentions, concerning *Virginia.*

Blacke enuie, and pale feare, being not able to produce any arguments, why that ſhould bee lawfull for *France*, which is (in vs) vnlawfull: that which to *Rome* was poſſible, (to vs) is impoſſible: that which to others is honourable, and pro-

fitable, (in vs) ſhould bee traduced, as incommodious, baſe, and contemptible: wherefore vnder theſe three heads of lawfulneſſe, poſſibility, and commoditie, will I marſhall all thoſe reaſons, which may reſolue the religious, encourage the perſonall, confirme the noble, and ſatiſſie the timorous aduenturer.

Three Heads. Lawfull, Poſſible, Profitable.

Firſt, if it bee vnlawfull: it muſt be ſo, either in reſpect of the law of God, or in regard of the lawe of man. If in reſpect of Gods lawe, (conſidering our primarie end is to plant religion, our ſecondarie and ſubalternate ends are for the honour and profit of our nation) I demand a reſolution of this plaine queſtion: whether it bee not a determinated truth, that the Goſpell ſhould bee preached, to all the world, before the end of the world? If, it muſt bee preached, (as heauen and earth muſt paſſe awaie, but Gods word ſhall not paſſe awaie) then muſt it bee preached, one of theſe three waies: Either meerly Apoſtolically, without the helpe

helpe of man, (without ſo much as a ſtaffe (or meerely imperiallie, when a Prince, hath conquered their bodies, that the Preachers may feede their ſoules; Or mixtly, by diſcouerie, and trade of marchants; where all temporall meanes are vſed for defence, and ſecurity, but none for offence, or crueltie. For the firſt (to preach Apoſtolicallie) it is ſimplie impoſſible: except wee had the gift of tongues, that euerie nation might heare the word of God in their owne language; or the guift of miracles, that it might be confirmed, with wonders from heauen; which two beeing ceaſed, queſtionleſſe the identicall commiſſion of the Apoſtles is expired: Or if yet the matter bee vrged, that God by fiſhers did conuert Emperors and therefore that wee muſt aduenture our liues without humane helpe; yet muſt it bee remembred, that there is no Apoſtolicall preaching, but where wee may expect eitheir their conuerſion, or our martyrdome. But we can expect nei-

ther, not their conuerſion who cannot vnderſtand vs, nor our martyrdome, when the people of *Florida*, did deuoure the Preachers of the word, without ſpeaking any word. *Non quia Chriſtiani, ſed quia homines*, not becauſe they were chriſtian men, but becauſe they were men, wee cannot be ſaid to be martyrs, when wee are not killed becauſe wee are chriſtians. And therefore the Ieſuite *Acoſta* confeſſeth (notwithſtanding *Bellarmines* relation of Indian miracles) that they haue no tongues, they haue no ſignes from heauen, and they can haue no martyrdome, and by conſequent there is no meanes left of Apoſtolicall preaching.

For the ſecond, to preach the Goſpell to a nation conquered, and to ſet their ſoules at liberty, when we haue brought their bodies to ſlauerie; It may be a matter ſacred in the Preachers, but I know not how iuſtifiable in the rulers. Who for their meere ambition, doe ſet vpon it, the gloſſe of religion. Let the diuines of *Sala-*

manca,

manca, discusse that question, how the possessor of the west Indies, first destroied, and then instructed.

The third, belongs to vs, who by way of marchandizing and trade, doe buy of them the pearles of earth, and sell to them the pearles of heauen; which action, if it be vnlawfull, it must proceede from one of these three grounds, either because we come to them, or trade with them, or tarrie and dwell and possesse part of their country amongst them.

Is it vnlawfull because wee come to them? why is it not a dutie of christianitie, to behold the imprinted footsteps of Gods glorie, in euery region vnder heauen? Is it not against the lawe of nations, to violate a peaceable stranger, or to denie him harbour. The Ethiopians, Egyptians, and men of *China*, are branded with a foule marke of sanguinarie and barbarous inhumanity, for blessing their Idols, with the bloud of strangers. It is not vnlawfull to trade with them, except *Salomon*

ſhall bee condemned for ſending for gold to *Ophir*, *Abraham* for making a league with *Abimelech*, and all chriſtendome ſhall bee traduced, for hauing comerce with Turks and miſcreants.

Finallie, it is not vnlawfull, that wee poſſeſſe part of their land, and dwell with them, and defend our ſelues from them. Partlie becauſe there is no other, moderate, and mixt courſe, to bring them to conuerſion, but by dailie conuerſation, where they may ſee the life, and learne the language each of other.

Partlie, becauſe there is no truſt to the fidelitie of humane beaſts, except a man will make a league, with Lions, Beares, and Crocodiles.

Partlie becauſe there is roome ſufficient in the land (as *Sichem* ſometime ſaid) for them, and vs: the extent of an hundred miles, being ſcarce peopled with 2000. inhabitants.

Partlie, becauſe they haue violated the lawe of nations, and vſed our Ambaſſadors

dors as *Ammon* did the ſeruants of *Dauid*: If in him it were a iuſt cauſe to warre againſt the Ammonites, it is lawfull, in vs, to ſecure our ſelues, againſt the infidels.

But chieflie becauſe *Paſpehay*, ône of their Kings, ſold vnto vs for copper, land to inherit and inhabite. *Powhatan*, their chiefe King, receiued voluntarilie a crowne and a ſcepter, with a full acknowledgement of dutie and ſubmiſſion.

Principallie when Captaine *Newport* was with *Powhatan* at *Warow a comaco* hee deſired him to come from *Iames* towne as a place vnholeſome, and to take poſſeſſion of an other whole kingdome which he gaue vnto him. If any man alleadge, that this was done in ſubtlety, not that they euer meant we ſhould poſſeſſe them, but that they might firſt gaine by vs, and then deſtroy vs. This makes our cauſe, much the iuſter, when God turned their ſubtletie, to our vtilitie: giuing vnto vs a lawfull poſſeſſion, (as *Pharaoe* gaue *Goſhen*

to

to *Iſraell*; or *Ephron* ſold his caue to *Abraham*) and freeing vs, from all impious and ſiniſter conſtruction. If anie man alleadge, that yet wee can poſſeſſe no farther limits, than was allotted by compoſition, and that *fortitudo ſine iuſtitia, eſt iniquitatis Materia*, fortitude without iuſtice, is but the firebrand of iniquitie. Let him know that *Plato* defineth it, to bee no iniuſtice, to take a ſword out of the hand of a mad man; That *Auſten* hath allowed it, for a lawfull offenſiue warre, *quod vlciſcitur iniurias* that reuengeth bloudie iniuries. So that if iuſt offences ſhall ariſe, it can bee no more iniuſtice to warre againſt infidells, than it is when vpon iuſt occaſions wee warre againſt Chriſtians. And therefore I cannot ſee, but that theſe truths, will fanne away all thoſe chaffie imputations, which anie Romiſh boaſters (that challenge a monopolie of all conuerſions) will caſt vpon it, or any ſcrupulous conſcience can impute vnto it. Certainlie the Church of *Geneua* in the

yeere

yeere 1555. determined in a Synode, whereof (*Caluine*) was president, to send *Peter Richier*, and *William Quadrigarius*, vnder a French Captaine to *Brasilia*, who although they were supplanted, by the comming of the Cardinall of *Loraine*, and the trecherie of their double hearted leader, yet would not the Church of *Geneua*, (after a Synodicall consultation) haue sent their ministers to such an aduenture, had not all scruples, (in their iudgement) beene cleared by the light of Scripture.

When therefore, it is a sweete smelling sacrifice, to propagate the name of Iesus Christ, when the Babylonish Inchantresse (if her owne Calenders, are to bee credited) hath compassed sea, and land, to make, sixe, eight, or ten millions, of Romish proselites. When there is no other, mixt, moderate, course, to transport the *Virginian* soules to heauen. When there hath beene a reall concessi-

on from their rurall Emperour, that hath licenſed vs to negotiate among them, and to poſſeſſe their countrie with them. When there is more vnpeopled continent of earth, than wee and they (before the diſſolution of the pillars of heauen) can ouerburden with multitude. When we neuer intend to play the *Reboboams*, and to ſcourge them with ſcorpions. It is not good, to create more ſinnes, then God euer cenſured: nor to brand that action with impietie, which God hath begun for promulgating of his glorie *Nunquid ideo deforme eſt, quia figura mentitur?* is the action therefore deformed, becauſe a falſe glaſſe doth ſlaunder it?

Concerning the other braunch of this diſcourſe, wherein ſome ſlie whiſperers would ſeeme to caſt an aſperſion of iniuſtice vpon the action, ſuppoſing ſome forraine Prince to haue a former intereſt.

Certain-

Certainlie hee is but a rotten ſubiect that quarells the actions of his countrie, deſcrying a ſerpentine ſtinge vnder the faire leaues of pietie. And though it bee not for a theoreticall Schollar, to circumſcribe the dominions of Princes, yet a few proofes from antiquitie, ſhall ſuffice to controwle ignorant or preſumptuous follie.

In the yeere 1170. *Madocke* the ſonne of *Owen Guyneth* Prince of *Northwales* (leauing the land in contention betwixt his two brethren *Howell* and *Dauid*) ſailed into the Weſt Indies, and after a ſecond, and a third returne, and ſupplie, ſetled himſelfe in thoſe dominions.

In the yeere 1495. *Iohn Cabot* a Venetian, but the indenized ſubiect of King *Henrie* the ſeauenth diſcouered the North parts of *America*, to *Meta incognita*, and ſo it was annexed to the Crowne of *England*.

As for the donation of *Alexander* the ſixt; it is but a reciprocall clawing, when Emperors create their ſeruants Biſhops vniuerſall, and ſhauelings create their Lords, Emperors generall.

If the donation of *Conſtantine* were not more vertuall for Saint *Peters* patrimonie, wee ſhould haue neede of more purgatories, to maintaine fuell in the Popes kitchen: for if the kingdome of Chriſt was not on earth, what a tranſubſtantiated power, doth the pretended Vicar of Chriſt claime, to diſpoſe all the kingdomes of the earth. *Petrarch* recordeth a memorable hiſtorie, of *Sautius* brother to the King of *Spaine*, who was elected generall againſt the Saracens of *Egypt*, and comming to *Rome* for that purpoſe, the Biſhop of *Rome*, made it to bee proclaimed in the Conſiſtorie that hee beſtowed the kingdome of *Egypt* vpon *Sautius*. *Sautius* vnderſtanding this fauour, (by his interpreter)

preter) commanded to proclaime the Pope, great *Caleph* of *Baldacho*: perfuming the ſonne of pride, with his owne ſmoke.

The Pope hauing no more power, to make *Sautius* a King, then *Sautius* had power to make the Pope a *Caleph*. Let ſuch retailers of Crownes remember, who it was that ſometime ſaide, all theſe will I giue thee if thou wilt fall downe, and worſhip me, And yet with this item that the diuell pretended to giue no more than he ſaw.

Theſe points beeing thus defined, I come to the poſsibility. Againſt which three maine impediments are obiected. Firſt the daungerous paſſage by ſea, ſecondlie the barrenneſſe of the countrie, thirdly the vnholeſomneſſe of the climate: the ſtorme that ſeperated the admirall from the fleete prooued the firſt, the famine amongſt our men importing the ſecond, the ſickneſſe of our

men arguing the third. All which discouragements doe astonish our men with feare, as though our expences were vnprofitable, when our ends are impossible.

But before I shall enter into this discourse I must craue leaue to make a necessarie digression, and to iustifie his reputation whose worth is of speciall regard in this plantation.

Sir *Thomas Gates* supposeth himselfe accused publiquelie and in print of a treeble defect.

First that hee ranne so farre Southerlie and into the Tropique, that the heat caused the infection in the ships.

Secondlie that hee gaue a sealed direction, that if they were seperated by anie storme, that they should make for the *Baruada* in the West Indies, which direction himselfe following, it caused his shipwracke, but the other shippes, (vpon better iudgement) declining

these

theſe inſtructions, ariued ſafelie in *Virginia.*

Thirdlie that hee caried in one bottome all the principall Commiſſioners who ſhould ſucceſſiuelie haue gouerned the Colonie. Againſt all which imputations, hee maketh this iuſt Apologie.

Firſt hee confeſſeth that a little before they came vnto the Canaries, that hee entred into conſultation with Sir *George Summers*, Captaine *Newport*, and the other of chiefe regarde in the fleete, wherein it was reſolued by an vniformitie of conſent, to runne Southerlie into the Tropique, which they did, till they came to the height of foure and twentie, but hee denieth that this courſe was anie cauſe of infection. For in the *Faulcon*, the *Bleſsing*, the *Lyon*, (and in the *Admirall* wherein were one hundred and fiftie ſoules) there was not

one

one ſicke of the peſtilence nor other diſeaſe; In the other two ſhips the infection was ſomewhat hote, but they ſhipped the ſame from *London*; To the ſecond hee affirmeth, that hee firſt gaue them ſealed inſtructions (not to bee opened till a time of ſtorme) which directed them to the *Baruada*, But after when they came to the height of foure and twentie, hee countermaunded thoſe directions by word of mouth, and aſſigned them, (that if they were ſcattered) that they ſhould make with all ſpeede for *Virginia*. Which himſelfe (eſteeming the price of time vnualuable) woulde haue executed, had not the violent leake of the ſhippe hindred him, So that the other ſhips ſafe ariuall in *Virginia*, proceeded originallie from his aduiſe and authoritie.

To the third, he briefly ſignifieth, that no other

other Commiſsioners were in his Ship, but ſuch, (as for eſpeciall reaſons) were preciſely and peremptorily appointed, by the Councell of *Virginia*. And thus you ſee, that *Tacitus* wiſely obſerued two great enemies of great actions, *Ignorantiam veri, & Inuidiam*, the ignorance of Truth, and the emulation of Vertue.

To returne therefore vnto the maine channell of this diſcourſe, and to diſpell the clouds of feare, that threaten ſhipwracks, and ſea-dangers: For we are not to extenuate the ſeas tempeſtuous violence, nor yet therefore to diſpaire of Gods aſsiſting prouidence. For true it is, that when *Sir Thomas Gates*, *Sir George Summers*, and *Captaine Newport*, were in the height of 27. and the 24. of Iuly 1609. there aroſe ſuch a ſtorme, as if *Ionas* had been flying vnto *Tarshiſh*: the heauens were obſcured, and made an Egyptian night of three daies perpetuall horror; the women lamented; the hearts of the paſſengers failed; the experience of the ſea Cap-

taines was amaſed: the skill of the marriners was confounded: the Ship moſt violently leaked, and though two thouſand tunne of water by pumping from Tueſday noone till Fryday noone was diſcharged, notwithſtanding the Ship was halfe filled with water, and thoſe which laboured to keepe others from drowning were halfe drowned themſelues in labouring. But God that heard *Ionas* crying out of the belly of hell, he pittied the diſtreſſes of his ſeruants: For behold, in the laſt period of neceſsitie, *Sir George Summers* deſcryed land, which was by ſo much the more ioyfull, by how much their danger was deſpairefull. The Iſlands on which they fell were the *Bermudos*, a place hardly acceſſable, through the inuironing rocks and dangers: notwithſtanding they were forced to runne their Ship on ſhoare, which through Gods prouidence fell betwixt two rockes, that cauſed her to ſtand firme and not immediatly to be broken, God continuing his mercie vnto them, that with their long

Boats

Boats they transported to land before night, all their company, men, women, and children, to the number of one hundred and fiftie, they carryed to shoare all the prouision of vnspent and vnspoyled victuals, all their furniture and tackling of the Ship, leauing nothing but bared ribs, as a pray vnto the Ocean.

These Islands of the *Bermudos*, haue euer beene accounted as an inchaunted pile of rockes, and a desert inhabitation for Diuels; but all the Fairies of the rocks were but flocks of birds, and all the Diuels that haunted the woods, were but heards of swine. Yea and when *Acosta* in his first booke of the hystories of the *Indies*, auerreth, that though in the continent there were diuerse beasts, and cattell, yet in the Islands of *Hispaniola*, *Iamaica*, *Marguarita*, and *Dominica*, there was not one hoofe, it increaseth the wonder, how our people in the *Bermudos* found such abundance of Hogs, that for nine moneths space they plentifully sufficed: and yet the number seemed

med not much diminiſhed. Again, as in the great famine of *Iſraell*, God commanded *Elias* to flie to the brooke *Cedron*, and there fed him by Rauens; ſo God prouided for our diſconſolate people in the midſt of the Sea by foules: but with an admirable difference: vnto *Elias* the Rauens brought meat, vnto our men the foules brought (themſelues) for meate: for when they whiſteled, or made any ſtrange noyſe, the foules would come and ſit on their ſhoulders, they would ſuffer themſelues to be taken and weighed by our men, who would make choiſe of the fatteſt and faireſt, and let flie the leane and lighteſt. An accident, I take it, that cannot be paralleld by any Hyſtorie, except when God ſent abundance of Quayles to feed his *Iſrael* in the barren wilderneſſe. Laſtly they found the berries of *Cedar*, the *Palmeto* tree, the prickle peare, ſufficient fiſh, plentie of Tortoiſes, and diuers other kinds, which ſufficed to ſuſtaine nature. They found diuerſity of woods, which miniſtred materials

for

for the building of two Pinaces, according to the direction of the three prouident Gouernours.

Consider all these things together. At the instant of neede, they descryed land, halfe an hower more, had buried their memorial in the Sea. If they had fel by night, what expectation of light, from an vninhabited desart? They fell betwixt a laberinth of rockes, which they conceiue are mouldred into the Sea, by thunder and lightning. This was not *Ariadnes* threed, but the direct line of Gods prouidence. If it had not beene so neere land, their companie or prouision had perished by water: if they had not found Hogs, and foule, and fish, they had perished by famine: if there had not beene fuell, they had perished by want of fire: if there had not beene timber they could not haue transported themselues to *Virginia*, but must haue beene forgotten foreuer. *Nimium timet qui Deo non credit*, he is too impiously fearefull, that will not trust in God so powerfull.

What is there in all this tragicall Comædie that ſhould diſcourage vs with impoſſibilitie of the enterpriſe? when of all the Fleete, one onely Ship, by a ſecret leake was indangered, and yet in the gulfe of deſpaire, was ſo graciouſly preſerued. *Quæ videtur pœna, eſt medicina*, that which we accompt a puniſhment of euill, is but a medicine againſt euill.

After nine Moneths aboade in theſe Iſlands, on the tenth of May 1610. they imbarqued themſelues in their two new built Pinaces, and after ſome eleuen daies ſaile, they arriued neere point Comfort vpon the coaſt of *Virginia:* where they had intelligence of ſo wofull miſerie, as if God had onely preſerued them, to communicate in an new extremitie.

From which calamitie, the other arguments of impoſsibilitie are framed; For if the Countrie bee barren, or the ſcituation contagious; as famine, and ſickneſſe, deſtroy our Nation: wee ſtriue againſt the ſtreame of reaſon, and make our ſelues the ſub-

ſubiects of ſcorne and deriſion. Therefore in this maine point of conſequence, I will propound this plaine and ſimple Methode; Firſt to demonſtrate that there is, and may be in *Virginia* a ſufficient meanes (in all abundance) to ſuſtaine the life of man; Next that the Climate is wholeſome and temperate, agreeing with the conſtitutions of our men; Thirdly, that thoſe extremities proceeded from accidentall and not inherent euils. Laſtly, I will delineate the ſtate of the Colony, as *Sir Thomas Gates* left it vnder the gouernment of the honorable *L. Lawarre:* whereby it ſhall appeare, that all difficulties are amended, and that the State of that Countrie is ſufficiently mannaged.

To begin, with the ſtaffe of bread. It is auowed vnto mee, in writing, in the words of the Author, that hath been there, as followeth. *They vſe to put their wheat into the ground, fiue cornes in one ſpit of earth, and two beanes with them: which wheat cornes multiplying into diuers ſtalks, grow vp twelue,* Corne.

or

or fourteene foote high : yeelding some foure, fiue, or six eares, on euery stalke; and in euery eare, some fiue hundred, some six hundred, some seauen hundred cornes : the two beanes, runne vpon the stalkes of the wheat, as our garden pease vpon stickes, which multiplie to a wonderous increase. I cannot let slip a great secret, (saith the Author) whereof I will auouch no more, then with my hands and eyes I haue handled and seene, and whereof to my great comfort, I haue often tasted: The wheat beeing sowen thicke, some stalkes beare eares of corne, and some (like fiences in trees) beare none: but in those barren stalkes, there is as much iuice as in some sugar cane, of so delicate a tast, as no fruit in England, is comparable to it; out of which Sir Raph Lane *conceiued, that wee may extract sugar, in great quantity. But* Sir Thomas Gates *affirmeth that our men doe make cordiall drinke thereof, to their great comfort.*

Pease. Besides, the naturall Pease of the Coun-
Fruits. trie returne an increase innumerable, our
Hearbs. garden fruits, both roots, hearbes, and flowers,

flowers, doe ſpring vp ſpeedily, all things committed to the earth, do multiply with an incredible vſurie.

The Beaſts of the Countrie, as Déere, red, and fallow, do anſwere in multitude (people for people conſidered) to our proportion of Oxen, which appeareth by theſe experiences. Firſt the people of the Countrie are apparelled in the skinnes of theſe beaſts; Next, hard by the fort, two hundred in one heard haue been vſually obſerued: Further, our men haue ſeene 4000. of theſe skins pyled vp in one ward-roabe of *Powhaton*; Laſtly, infinite ſtore haue been preſented to *Captaine Newport* vpon ſundry occurrents: ſuch a plentie of Cattell, as all the Spaniards found not in the whole kingdome of *Mexico*, when all their preſents were but hennes, and giny-cocks, and the bread of Maize, and Cently. *Beaſts.*

There are *Arocouns*, and *Apoſsouns*, in ſhape like to pigges, ſhrowded in hollow roots of trees; There are Hares and Co-nies, and other beaſts proper to the Coun-

trie in plentifull manner.

Our transported Cattell, as Horſes, Kine, Hogs, and Goats, do thriue moſt happily: which is confirmed by a double experiment; one, of *Sir Raph Lane*, who brought Kine from the Weſt Indian Iſland; the other of our Colony, who need take no other care of them, but leaſt they ſhould ſtraie too farre, or be ſtolne from them. The Turkyes of that Countrie are great, and fat, and exceeding in plentie. The riuers from Auguſt, or September, till February, are couered with flocks of

Wildfoule Wildfoule: as ſwannes, geeſe, ducke, mallard, teal, wigeons, hearons, bitters, curlewes, godwights, plouers, ſnights, dottrels, cormerants, (to vſe the words of *Sir Thomas Gates*) in ſuch abundance, as are not in all the world to be equalled.

Fruits. The Fruits: as apples, running on the ground, in bigneſſe and ſhape of a ſmall lemmon, in colour and taſt like to a preſerued Apricock: grapes and walnuts innumerable; the vines being as common as bram-

brambles, the walnut trees as the elmes in England. What ſhould I ſpeake of cucumbers, muske melons, pompions, potatoes, parſneps, carrets, turnups, which our gardens yeelded with little art and labour. God in this place is euer concurring with his gracious influence, if man ſtrangle not his bleſsings, with careleſſe negligence. It ſhall ſuffice to conclude in the words and phraſe of that noble Gouernour, the *Lo. Laware*, as it is warranted to mee by the copie of his Letters ſent to the Virginian Councell.

Howſoeuer, men haue belyed both it and themſelues, heretofore, yet let no rumor of the Countrie (as if in the wombe thereof lay not theſe elementall ſeedes of plenty and increaſe) waue any mans faire purpoſes, or wreſt them to a declyning and falling off from the buſineſſe.

For the healthineſſe and temperateneſſe of the Clymate, agreeing to our conſtitutions, much neede not be related, ſince in all the former written Treatiſes, it is ex- *Temperature.*

preſly obſerued.

No man ought to judge of any Countrie by the fennes and marſhes (ſuch as is the place where *James* towne ſtandeth) except we will condemne all England, for the Wilds and Hundreds of Kent and Eſſex. In our particular, wee haue an infallible proofe of the temper of the Countrie: for of an hundred and odd, which were ſeated at the *Falles*, vnder the gouernment of *Captaine Francis Weſt*, and of an hundred to the Sea-ward on the South ſide of the riuer, (in the Countrie of the *Nanſamunds*) vnder the charge of *Captaine Iohn Martin*; of all theſe two hundred, there did not ſo much as one man miſcarrie: when in *Iames* Towne, at the ſame time, and in the ſame moneths, 100. ſickned, and halfe the number died.

The like experiment was long ſince in the regiment of *Sir Raph Lane*, where, in the ſpace of one whole yeare, not two of one hundred periſhed. Adde vnto this the diſcourſe of philoſophie, when in that Coun-

Countrie fleſh will receiue ſalt, and continue vnputrified (which it will not in the Weſt Indies) when the moſt delicate of all flowers, grow there as familiarly, as in the fields of *Portingale*, where the woods are repleniſhed with more ſweet barks, and odors, then they are in the pleſanteſt places of *Florida*. How is it poſsible that ſuch a virgin and temperat aire, ſhould work ſuch contrarie effects, but becauſe our fort (that lyeth as a ſemy-Iland) is moſt part inuironed with an ebbing and flowing ſalt water, the owze of which ſendeth forth an vnwholſome & contagious vapour? To cloſe vp this part with *Sir Thomas Gates* his experiment: he profeſſeth, that in a fortnights ſpace he recouered the health of moſt of them by moderat labour, whoſe ſickneſſe was bred in them by intemperate idlenes.

If any man ſhall accuſe theſe reports of partiall falſhood, ſuppoſing them to be but Vtopian, and legendarie fables, becauſe he cannot conceiue, that plentie and famine, a temperate climate, and diſtempered bodies,

felicities, and miseries can be reconciled together, let him now reade with judgement, but let him not judge before he hath read.

The ground of all those miseries, was the permissiue prouidence of God, who, in the fore-mentioned violent storme, seperated the head from the bodie, all the vitall powers of regiment being exiled with *Sir Thomas Gates* in those infortunate (yet fortunate) Ilands. The broken remainder of those supplies made a greater shipwrack in the continent of *Virginia*, by the tempest of dissention: euery man ouervaluing his own worth, would be a Commander: euery man vnderprising an others value, denied to be commanded. The emulation of *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, watered the plains of *Pharsaly* with bloud, and distracted the sinewes of the Romane *Monarchy*. The dissentions of the three besieged Captains betraied the Citie of *Hierusalem* to *Vespasian*: how much more easily might ambitious discord teare in peeces an infant Colony, where no eminent and respected magistrats had authoritie to

punish

punish presumptuous disobedience. *Tacitus* hath obserued, that when *Nero* sent his old trained souldiers to *Tarantum* and *Autium*, (but without their Captains and Centurians) that they rather made a number, then a Colony: euery souldier secretly glided into some neighbour Prouince, and forsooke their appointed places: which hatched this consequent mischiefe; the Cities were vninhabited, and the emperour was frustrated: when therfore licence, sedition, and furie, are the fruits of a headie, daring, and vnruly multitude, it is no wonder that so many in our colony perished: it is a wonder, that all were not deuoured. *Omnis inordinatus animus sibi ipsi fit pœna*, euery inordinate soule becomes his owne punishment.

The next fountaine of woes was secure negligence, and improuidence, when euery man sharked for his present bootie, but was altogether careless of succeeding penurie. Now, I demand whether *Sicilia*, or *Sardinia*, (sometimes the barnes of *Rome*) could hope

so

for increaſe without manuring? A Colony is therefore denominated, becauſe they ſhould be *Coloni*, the tillers of the earth, and ſtewards of fertilitie: our mutinous loiterers would not ſow with prouidence, and therefore they reaped the fruits of too deare-bought repentance. An incredible example of their idlenes, is the report of *Sir Thomas Gates*, who affirmeth, that after his firſt comming thither, he hath ſeen ſome of them eat their fiſh raw, rather than they would go a ſtones caſt to fetch wood and dreſſe it. *Dij laboribus omnia vendunt*, God ſels vs all things for our labour, when *Adam* himſelfe might not liue in paradice without dreſſing the garden.

Vnto idleneſſe, you may ioyne treaſons, wrought by thoſe vnhallowed creatures that forſooke the Colony, and expoſed their deſolate brethren to extreame miſerie. You ſhall know that 28. or 30. of the companie, were appointed (in the Ship called the Swallow) to truck for Corne with the *Indians*, and hauing obtained a great quantitie

by

by trading, the moſt ſeditious of them, conſpired together, perſuaded ſome, & enforced others, to this barbarous proiect. They ſtole away the Ship, they made a league amongſt themſelues to be profeſſed pirates, with dreames of mountaines of gold, and happy robberies: thus at one inſtant, they wronged the hopes, and ſubuerted the cares of the Colony, who depending vpon their returne, fore-ſlowed to looke out for further prouiſion: they created the *Indians* our implacable enemies by ſome violence they had offered: they carried away the beſt Ship (which ſhould haue been a refuge, in extremities:) they weakned our forces, by ſubſtraction of their armes, and ſuccours. Theſe are that ſcum of men that fayling in their piracy, that beeing pinched with famine and penurie, after their wilde rouing vpon the Sea, when all their lawleſſe hopes failed, ſome remained with other pirates, they men vpon the Sea, the others reſolued to returne for England, bound themſelues by mutuall oath, to agree all in one

report, to discredit the land, to deplore the famyne, and to protest that this their comming awaie, proceeded from desperate necessitie: These are they, that roared out the tragicall historie of the man eating of his dead wife in *Virginia;* when the master of this Ship willingly confessed before 40 witnesses, that at their comming awaie, they left three moneths victuals, and all the cattell liuing in the Fort: sometimes they reported that they saw this horrible action, sometimes that *Captaine Dauies* sayd so, sometimes that one *Beadle* the Lieutenant of *Captaine Dauies* did relate it, varying this report into diuersitie of false colours, which hold no likenesse and proportion: But to cleare all doubts, *Sir Thomas Gates* thus relateth the tragedie.

There was one of the companie who mortally hated his wife, and therefore secretly killed her, then cut her in pieces and hid her in diuers parts of his house: when the woman was missing, the man suspected, his house searched, and parts of her mangled body were discouered,

red, to excuse himselfe he said that his wife died, that hee hid her to satisfie his hunger, and that he fed daily vpon her. Vpon this, his house was againe searched, where they found a good quantitie of meale, oatemeale, beanes and pease. Hee thereupon was araigned, confessed the murder, and was burned for his horrible villany.

Now shall the scandalous reports of a viperous generation, preponderate the testimonies of so worthie leaders? shall their venemous tongues, blast the reputation of an auncient & worthy Peere, who vpon the ocular certainty of future blessings, hath protested in his Letters, that he will sacrifice himselfe for his Countrie in this seruice, if he may be seconded; and if the company doe giue it ouer he will yet lay all his fortunes vpon the prosecution of the plantation? shall sworne lyes, and combined oathes, so far priuiledge trechery, and piracy as to rob vs of our hopes, & to quell our noble resolutions? God forbid: *Qui in mendacio confidit, cito diffidit*, a lyers confi-

dence is but a blazing diffidence.

Vnto Treaſons, you may ioyne couetouſneſſe in the Mariners, who for their priuate lucre partly imbezeled the prouiſions, partly preuented our trade with the *Indians*, making the matches in the night, and foreſtalling our market in the day: whereby the Virginians were glutted with our trifles, and inhaunced the prices of their Corne and Victuall. That Copper which before would haue prouided a buſhell, would not now obtaine ſo much as a pottle: *Non habet euentus ſordida præda bonos*, the conſequent of ſordid gaine is vntimely wretchedneſſe.

Ioyne vnto theſe an other euill: there is great ſtore of Fiſh in the riuer, eſpecially of Sturgeon; but our men prouided no more of them, then for preſent neceſsitie, not barrelling vp any ſtore againſt that ſeaſon the Sturgeon returned to the ſea. And not to diſſemble their folly, they ſuffered fourteene nets (which was all they had) to rot and ſpoile, which by orderly drying

drying and mending might haue been preſerued: but being loſt, all help of fiſhing periſhed. *Quanto maiora timentur diſpendia, tanto promptior debet eſſe cautela*, fundamentall loſſes that cannot be repealed, ought with the greateſt caution to be preuented.

The ſtate of the Colony, by theſe accidents began to find a ſenſible declyning: which *Powhatan* (as a greedy Vulture) obſeruing, and boyling with deſire of reuenge, he inuited *Captaine Ratclife*, and about thirty others to trade for Corne, and vnder the colour of faireſt friendſhip, he brought them within the compaſſe of his ambuſh, whereby they were cruelly murthered, and maſſacred. For vpon confidence of his fidelitie, they went one and one into ſeuerall houſes, which cauſed their ſeuerall deſtructions, when if but any ſixe had remained together, they would haue been a bulwarke for the generall preſeruation. After this, *Powhatan* in the night cut off ſome of our boats, he draue away all the

Deere into the farther part of the Countrie, hee and his people deſtroyed our Hogs, (to the number of about ſixe hundred) he ſent none of his *Indians* to trade with vs, but laied ſecret ambuſhes in the woods, that if one or two dropped out of the fort alone, they were indaungered.

Caſt vp this reckoning together: want of gouernment, ſtore of idleneſſe, their expectations fruſtrated by the Traitors, their market ſpoyled by the Mariners, our nets broken, the deere chaſed, our boats loſt, our hogs killed, our trade with the *Indians* forbidden, ſome of our men fled, ſome murthered, and moſt by drinking of the brackiſh water of *Iames* fort weakened, and indaungered, famyne and ſickneſſe by all theſe meanes increaſed, here at home the monies came in ſo ſlowly, that the *Lo. Lawarre* could not be diſpatched, till the Colony was worne and ſpent with difficulties: Aboue all, hauing neither Ruler, nor Preacher, they neither feared God

nor

nor man, which prouoked the wrath of the Lord of Hosts, and pulled downe his iudgements vpon them. *Discite iustitiam moniti*. Now, (whether it were that God in mercie to vs would weede out these ranke hemlockes; or whether in iudgement to them he would scourge their impieties; or whether in wisedome he would trie our patience, *Vt magna magnè desideremus*, that wee may beg great blessings earnestly) our hope is that our Sunne shall not set in a cloude, since this violent storme is dispersed, since all necessarie things are prouided, an absolute and powerfull gouernment is setled, as by this insuing relation shall be described.

When *Sir Thomas Gates* arriued in *Virginia*, the strange and vnexpected condition wherein he found the Colony, gaue him to vnderstand, how neuer was there more neede of all the powers of judgement, then at this present; it being now his charge, both to saue such as he found so

ſo forlorne and wretched, as to redeeme himſelfe and his from falling into the like calamities. All which conſidered, he entred into conſultation with *Sir George Summers*, and *Captaine Newport*, and the Gentlemen and councell of the former gouernment. They examined firſt their ſtore, which after two cakes a day to a man, would hold out but ſixteene dayes, (it being fiue moneths betwixt the ſtealing away of the *Swallow*, and his landing) the Corne of the *Indians* but newly ſowed, not an eye of Sturgeon, as yet appeared in the riuer: And therefore at the ſame conſultation it was concluded by a generall approbation, That they ſhould abandon the Countrie, and in the foure Pinaces (which remained in the riuer) they ſhould make for the New found land, where (it beeing fiſhing time) they might meete with many Engliſh Ships, into which they hoped to diſperſe the moſt of the Company.

This

This concluſion taking effect, vpon the ſeuenth of Iune Sir *Thomas Gates* (hauing appointed euery ſhip her complement and number, and deliuered likewiſe to each a proportionable weight of prouiſion) cauſed euery man to repaire aboord; his company (and of his company himſelfe) remained laſt on ſhore, to keepe the towne from being burned, which ſome of our owne company maliciouſly threatned. About noone they fell downe with the tyde to the Iland of Hogges, and the next morning to the Mulbury Iland: at what time, they diſcouered the long Boate of the Lord *Laware*, which his Lordſhip (hearing of this reſolution by the Captaine of the Fort, which ſtandeth at the mouth of the riuer) ſuddenly diſpatched with letters to Sir *Thomas Gates*, which informed him of his Lordſhips arriuall. Vpon receite of theſe letters, Sir *Thomas Gates* bore vp the Helme, and that night with a fauourable winde relanded all our men at the

Fort. Before which, the tenth of Iune (being Sunday) his Lordſhip came with all his Fleete, went aſhore in the afternoone, heard a Sermon, read his Commiſsion, and entred into conſultation for the good of the Colony.

In which ſecret counſell, I will a little leaue his Lordſhip, that wee may duly obſerue the reuealed counſell of God. He that ſhal but turne vp his eye, and behold the ſpangled Canopie of heauen, ſhall but caſt down his eye, and conſider the imbroidered Carpet of the earth, and withall ſhall marke, how the heauens heare the earth, the earth heare the corne and oyle, and they relieue the neceſsities of man, that man wil acknowledge Gods infinite prouidence. But hee that ſhall further obſerue, how God inclineth all caſuall euents, to worke the neceſſary helpe of his Saints, muſt needs adore the Lords infinite goodneſſe. Neuer had any people more iuſt cauſe to caſt themſelues at the foot-ſtoole of God, and to

reue-

reuerence his mercy, then our distressed Colony: for if God had not sent Sir *Thomas Gates* from the Bermudos within foure daies, they had all beene famished: if God had not directed the heart of that worthy Knight, to saue the Fort from fire at their shipping, they had been destitute of a present harbor, and succor; if they had abandoned the Fort any longer time, and had not so soone returned, questionlesse the Indians would haue destroied the Fort, which had beene the meanes of our safety among them, and a terrour vnto them. If they had set Saile sooner, and had lanched into the vast Ocean, who could haue promised, that they should haue encountred the Fleet of the Lo. *La-ware*? especially when they made for the New-found land, a course contrary to our Nauies approaching. If the Lord *La-ware* had not brought with him a yeares prouision, what comfort could those soules haue receiued, to haue beene relanded to a second destruction? *Brachi-*

um Domini, this was the arme of the Lord of Hosts, who would haue his people to passe the redde Sea and Wilderneſſe, and then to poſſeſſe the land of Canaan : It was diuinely ſpoken of heathen *Socrates*, *Si Deus ſit ſolicitus pro te, cur tu tibi ſis ſolicitus?* If God for man be carefull, why ſhould man be ouer diſtruſtfull?

The noble Lord gouernor, after mature deliberation, deliuered ſome few words to the company, laying iuſt blame vpon them for their haughty vanities, and ſluggiſh idleneſſe; earneſtly entreating them to amend thoſe deſperate follies, leſt he ſhould be compelled to draw the ſword of Iuſtice, and to cut off ſuch delinquents, which he had rather draw (euen to the ſhedding of his vital blood) to protect them from iniuries; heartning them with relation of that ſtore hee had brought with him; conſtituting officers of all conditions to rule ouer them, alotting euery man his particular place to watch vigilantly and worke painefully.

This

This Oration and direction being receiued with a generall applauſe, you might ſhortly behold the idle and reſtie diſeaſes of a diuided multitude, by the vnity and authority of this gouernment, to be ſubſtantially cured. Thoſe that knew not the way to goodnes before, but cheriſhed ſingularity and faction, can now chalke out the path of all reſpectiue duetie and ſeruice: euery man endeuouring to out-ſtrip each other in diligence: the French preparing to plant the Vines, the Engliſh labouring in the woods and groundes; euery man knoweth his charge, and diſchargeth the ſame with alacrity. Neither let any man be diſcouraged, by the relation of their daily labor, (as though the ſappe of their bodies ſhould be ſpent for other mens profite) the ſetled times of working (to effect all themſelues, or the Aduenturers neede deſire) requiring no more pains then from ſixe of clocke in the morning vntill ten, and from two of the clocke in the after-

noone till foure : at both which times they are prouided of ſpiritual and corporall reliefe. Firſt, they enter into the Church, and make their prayers vnto God; next, they returne to their houſes, and receiue their proportion of foode. Nor ſhould it be conceiued, that this buſines excludeth Gentlemen, whoſe breeding neuer knew what a daies labour meant; for though they cannot digge, vſe the ſquare, nor practiſe the axe and chizell; yet may the ſtayde ſpirits of any condition finde how to employ the force of knowledge, the exerciſe of counſell, the operation and power of their beſt breeding and qualities. The houſes which are built are as warme and defenſible againſt winde and weather, as if they were tiled and ſlated, being couered aboue with ſtrong boordes, and matted round within, according to the faſhion of the Indians. Our forces are now ſuch as are able to tame the fury and treachery of the Sauages: our Forts aſſure the Inhabitants,

bitants, and fruſtrate all aſſailants. And to leaue no diſcouragement in the heart of any, who perſonally ſhall enter into this great action, I will communicate a double comfort: firſt, Sir *George Summers* (that worthy Admiral) hath vndertaken a dangerous aduenture, for the good of the Colony.

Vpon the fifteenth of Iune (accompanied with Captaine *Samuel Argoll*) he returned in two Pinaces vnto the Bermudos; promiſing (if by any meanes God will open a way to that Iland of Rockes) that he would ſoone returne with ſixe moneths prouiſion of fleſh, and with liue Hogges to ſtore againe Virginia. It is but eleuen daies ſaile, and we hope that God will ſend a pillar of fire to direct his iourney. The other comfort is, that the Lord gouernour hath built two new Forts (the one called Fort *Henry*, and the other Fort *Charles*, in honor of our moſt noble Prince and his hopefull brother) vpon a pleaſant hill, and neere a little ri-

ueler,

uelet, which we call South-hampton riuer. They ſtand in a wholſome ayre, hauing plenty of ſprings of ſweete water; they command a great circuit of ground, containing wood, paſture and meadow; with apt places for vines, corne and gardens. In which Forts it is reſolued, that all thoſe that come out of England ſhall be at their firſt landing quartered; that the weariſomnes of the ſea may bee refreſhed in this pleaſing part of the countrey.

The fertility of the ſoile, the temperature of the climate, the form of gouernment, the condition of our people, their daily inuocating of the name of God, being thus expreſſed; Why ſhould the ſucceſſe (by the rules of mortall iudgement) be deſpaired? Why ſhould not the rich harueſt of our hopes be ſeaſonably expected? I dare ſay, that the reſolution of *Cæſar* in Fraunce, the deſignes of *Alexander* in Greece, the diſcoueries of *Hernando Cortes* in the Weſt, and of *Emanuel*, King

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of Portugale in the East, were not incouraged vpon so firme grounds of state and possibility. All which I could demonstrate out of their owne Records, were I not preuented with haste, to satisfie their longings, who with an open eare, hearken after the commodities of the countrey: whose appetites I will no longer frustrate, then their eyes can runne ouer this succinct Narration.

I called it a succinct Narration, because the commodities in former Treatises haue beene largely described, which I will only here epitomise, lest any man should change his resolution, when the same grounds remaine, which were the cause of his former aduenture.

The Councell of Virginia (finding the smalnesse of that returne, which they hoped should haue defraied the charge of a new supply) entred into a deepe consultation, and propounded amongst themselues, whether it were fit to enter into a new contribution, or in time to send for

home the Lord *La-ware*, and to abandon the action. They resolued to send for sir *Thomas Gates*, who being come, they adiured him to deale plainely with them, and to make a true relation of those things which were presently to be had, or hereafter to be hoped for in Virginia. Sir *Thomas Gates* with a solemne and sacred oath replied, that all things before reported were true: that the country yeeldeth abundance of wood, as Oake, Wainscot, Walnut tres, Bay trees, Ashe, Sarsafrase, liue Oake, greene all the yeare, Cedar and Firre; which are the materials, of soape ashes, and pot ashes, of oyles of walnuts, and bayes, of pitch and tarre, of Clap boards, Pipe-staues, Masts and excellent boardes of forty, fifty and sixtie length, and three foote bredth, when one Firre tree is able to make the maine Mast of the greatest ship in England. He auouched, that there are incredible variety of sweet woods, especially of the Balsamum tree, which distilleth a pretious gum;

gum; that there are innumerable white Mulberry trees, which in ſo warme a climate may cheriſh and feede millions of ſilke wormes, and returne vs in a very ſhort time, as great a plenty of ſilke as is vented into the whole world from al the parts of Italy: that there are diuers ſorts of Minerals, eſpecially of Iron oare, lying vpon the ground for ten miles circuite; of which we haue made triall at home, that it maketh as good Iron as any is in Europe:) that a kinde of hempe or flax, and ſilke graſſe doe grow there naturally, which will affoord ſtuffe for all manner of excellent Cordage: that the riuer ſwarmeth with Sturgeon; the land aboundeth with Vines, the woodes doe harbor exceeding ſtore of Beauers, Foxes and Squirrils, the waters doe nouriſh a great encreaſe of Otters; all which are couered with pretious furres: that there are in preſent diſcouered dyes and drugs of ſundry qualities; that the Orenges which haue beene planted, did proſper

in the winter, which is an infallible argument, that Lymmons, ſugar Canes, Almonds, Rice, Anniſeede, and all other commodities which we haue from the Straights, may be ſupplied to vs in our owne countrey, and by our owne induſtry: that the corne yeeldeth a trebble encreaſe more then ours; and laſtly, that it is one of the goodlieſt countries vnder the ſunne; enterueined with fiue maine Riuers, and promiſing as rich entrals as any Kingdome of the earth, to whom the ſunne is no neerer a neighbour.

VVhat theſe things will yeelde, the Merchant beſt knoweth, who findeth by experience, that many hundreth of thouſands of pounds are yearly ſpent in Chriſtendome in theſe commodities. The Merchant knoweth, that Caueare and Traine which come from Ruſsia, can be brought hither but once in the yeare, in regard of the Ice: and that Sturgeon which is brought from the Eaſt countries, can come but twice a yeare; and

that

that not before the end of Aprill, or the beginning of May; which many times in regard of the heat of thoſe moneths, is tainted in the tranſportation: when from Virginia they may be brought to vs in foure and twenty daies, and in al the colde ſeaſons of the yeare. The Merchants know, that the commodity of ſope and pot aſhes are very ſcant in Pruſsia; that they are brought three hundred miles by land, and three hundred miles by riuers, before they come to the Sea; that they pay a cuſtome there, and another in Denmarke, which enhanceth the prices exceedingly: But in Virginia they may haue them without carriage by land or cuſtom (becauſe fiue Nauigable Riuers doe lead vp fiue ſeuerall waies into the bowels of the whole countrey.) As therefore the like Riuers, are the cauſe of the riches of Holland, ſo will theſe be to vs a wondrous cauſe of ſauing of expences. The merchant knoweth, that through the troubles in Poland & Muſ-

couy (whose eternall warres are like the Antipathy of the Dragon & Elephants) all their traffique for Maſtes, Deales, Pitch, Tarre, Flaxe, Hempe, and Cordage, are euery day more and more indangered, and the woods of thoſe countries are almoſt exhauſted. All which are to be had in Virginia with farre leſſe charge, and farre more ſafety. Laſtly, the Merchant knoweth, that for our commodities in the Staights, as ſweet wines, orenges, lemmonds, anniſeeds, &c. that we ſtand at the deuotion of politique Princes and States, who for their proper vtility, deuiſe all courſes to grinde our merchants, all pretences to confiſcate their goods, and to draw from vs al marrow of gaine by their inquiſitiue inuentions: when in Virginia, a few yeares labour by planting and husbandry, will furniſh all our defects, with honour and ſecurity; eſpecially ſince the Frenchmen (who are with the Lord Gouernour) do confidently promiſe, that within two

yeares

yeares we may expect a plentifull Vintage.

VVhen therfore this noble enterprise, by the rules of Religion is expresly iustified; when the passages by Sea are all open and discouered; when the climate is so fruitfully tempered; when the naturall riches of the soile are so powerfully confirmed: will any man so much betray his owne inconsiderate ignorance, and bewray his rashnesse; that when the same Sunne shineth, he should not haue the same eies to beholde it; when the same hope remaines, he should not haue the same heart to apprehend it? At the voyage of Sir *Thomas Gates*, what swarmes of people desired to be transported? what alacrity and cheerefulnesse in the Aduenturers by free wil offerings, to build vp this new Tabernacle? Shall we now be dejected? Shall we cast downe our heads like Bull rushes? because one storme at sea hath deferred our ioyes and comforts! VVe are too effeminate in our long-

longings, and too impatient of delaies. Gods al-disposing prouidence, is not compellable by mans violence: Let any wisedome giue a solide reason, why his purpose should be changed, when those grounds which gaue life to his first purpose, are not changed. It is but a golden slumber, that dreameth of any humane felicity, which is not sauced with some contingent miserie. *Dolor & voluptas, inuicem cedunt*, Griefe and pleasure are the crosse sailes of the worlds euer-turning-windmill. Let no man therefore be ouer wise, to cast beyond the moone, and to multiply needlesse doubts and questions. *Hannibal* by too much wisedome, lost opportunity to haue sacked Rome *Charles* the eighth of Fraunce, by temporising, lost the Kingdome of Naples, and the gouernement of Florence: *Henry* the seuenth by too much ouer-warines, lost the riches of the golden Indies. Occasion is pretious, but when it is occasion. Some of our neighbours would ioine in

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the action, if they might be ioynt inheritors in the Plantation; which is an euident proofe, that Virginia shall no sooner be quitted by vs, then it will be reinhabited by them. A dishonor of that nature, that will eternally blemish our Nation; as though we were like the furious *Pyrrhus*, or impetuous Swissers, who in a brunt can conquer any thing, but with wisedome can maintaine nothing. It is time to wipe away such an imputation of Barbarisme, especially since the consequence is so pregnant, that without this or the like, the state cannot subsist without some dangerous and imminent mutation. He is ouer blinde that doth not see, what an inundation of people doth ouerflow this little Iland: Shall we vent this deluge, by indirect and vnchristian policies? shal we imitate the bloody and heathenish counsell of the Romanes, to leaue a Carthage standing, that may exhaust our people by forraine warre? or shall we nourish domesticall faction,

that as in the dayes of *Vitellius* and *Vespasian*, the sonne may imbrew his hands in the blood of the father? Or shall we follow the barbarous foot-steps of the state of China, to imprison our people in a little circle of the earth, and consume them by pestilence? Or shall we like the beast of Babylon, denie to any sort the honourable estate of mariage, and allow abhominable stewes, that our people may not ouer increase in multitude? Or shall we take an inhumane example from the Muscouite, in a time of famine to put tenne thousand of the poore vnder the yce, as the Mice and Rats of a state politique? If all these be diabolicall and hellish proiects, what other means remaines to vs, but by setling so excellent a Plantation, to disimbarke some millions of people vpon a land that floweth with all manner of plenty.

To wade a little further, who euer saluted the monuments of antiquity, and doth not finde, that Carthage aspired to

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be Empreſſe of the world, by her opportunity of hauens and multitude of ſhipping? What hindereth the great Mahumetane Prince, from ſeazing vpon al the territories of Europe, but onely the want of skilfull marriners? What created the rich and free ſtates of Holland, but their winged Nauy? It was a fit embleme that painted death ſtanding vpon the ſhoares of Fraunce, Germany and Spaine, and looking ouer into England: intymating vnto vs, that ſo long as we are Lords of the narrow ſeas, death ſtands on the other ſhoares, and onely can looke vpon vs: but if our wooden wals were ruinated, death would ſoone make a bridge to come ouer, and deuoure our Nation. When therefore our mils of Iron, and exceſſe of building, haue already turned our greateſt woods into paſture and champion; within theſe few years, neither the ſcattered Forreſts of England, nor the diminiſhed Groues of Ireland, will ſupply the defect of our Nauy. When in Virgi-

nia there is nothing wanting, but onely mens labours, to furnish both Prince, State and merchant, without charge or difficulty. Againe, whither shall wee transport our cloth, and how shall we sustaine our Artisans? Shall we send it into Turkey? Some priuate and deceitfull auarice hath discredited our merchandize. Into Spaine? it aboundeth with sheepe and wooll. Into Poland and Muscouy? the daunger doth ouer-ballance the gaine in times of contention. Into Fraunce and Germany? they are for the most part supplied by their owne peace. VVhen if our Colony were peopled in Virginia, *mutabit vellera merces*, we shall exchange our store of cloth for other merchandize. Let any man resolue why the Councell of Virginia, doe now most earnestly continue their aduentures? why those that were (eye witnesses) of the former suppoled miseries, do voluntarily returne with ioy and comfort? why those noble and worthy personages, doe

offer

offer to make the action good vpon the hazard of their liues & fortunes? And why Sir *Thomas Gates* longeth and hasteneth to go thither again, and the Lord *La-ware* desireth so earnestly to stay there? Are not all these things as deere to them as to any other of the Aduenturers? Haue not their hopes the same wings? their feares the same fetters? their estates the same rockes? their liues and soules greater gulfes of perill and despair? And yet neither the imbracements of their wiues, nor indulgence to their babes, nor the neglect of their domesticke fortunes, nor banishment from their natiue soile, nor any experimented dangers haue broken their noble resolution.

And therefore, he that desireth to purchase infallible hope of priuate vtility; hee that aimeth at the honor & wealth of his natiue country; he that esteemeth his owne repute as deere as his owne eies; he that endeauoureth to enlarge the dominions of his Prince, and the Kingdome of his God: let him remember what hee hath already spent, which is all buried; let him consi-

der the consequences of state, which are all vanished into smoake; let him conceiue what a scorne we shall be made to the maligners of our state abroad, and our il affected at home; let him meditate, the external riches of other Kingdoms, able to buy and sell the monarch of the west; let him heare the triumphant boasting of the beast of Rome, as though God would not suffer our schismaticall and hereticall Religion, to be infused into a new conuerted Region: O all ye worthies, follow the euer-sounding trumpet of a blessed honour; let Religion be the first aim of your hopes, *& cætera adjcientur*, and other things shall be cast vnto you: your names shall be registred to posterity with a glorious title; *These are the men, whom God raised to augment the State of their countrey, and to propagate the Gospell of Iesus Christ.* Neyther ought any man to liue vnder *Augustus*, as if he liued vnder *Domitian, quibus inertia est pro sapientia*; to whom sluggishnes & priuacy is imputed for wisedome and pollicy. The same God that hath ioyned three Kingdomes vnder one

Cæsar,

Cæsar, wil not be wanting to adde a fourth, if wee would dissolue that frosty Icinesse which chilleth our zeale, and maketh vs so cold in the action. But it is a meere *Idæa*, speculation and fancy, to sow sparingly, and yet expect for to reape plentifully; when a penurious supply is like the casting on of a little water vpon a great fire, that quencheth not the heat, but augments it: when procrastinating delayes, and lingring counsels, doe lose the oportunity of flying time; whereby we rather bewray our Colony then releeue them: let no man adore his golde as his God, nor his Mammon as his Maker. If God haue scattered his blessings vpon you as snow, will you returne no tributary acknowledgement of his goodnesse? If you will, can you select a more excellent subiect, then to cast downe the altars of Diuels, that you may raise vp the Altar of Christ: to forbid the sacrifice of men, that they may offer vp the sacrifice of contrite spirites; to reduce Barbarisme and infidelity, to ciuill gouernement and Christianity. *Si frigido loquor, nihil loquor*;

If

If I ſpeake to a man void of piety, I ſpeake but the words of winde and vanity; otherwiſe how doth that man groane vnder the worlds corruption, that doth not actually or vocally haſten the worldes conuerſion? Doubt ye not but God hath determined, and demonſtrated (by the wondrons preſeruation of thoſe principal perſons which fell vpon the Bermudos) that he will raiſe our ſtate, and build his Church in that excellent climate, if the action be ſeconded with reſolution and Religion.

Nil diſperandum Chriſto Duce, & Auſpice Chriſto.

FINIS.

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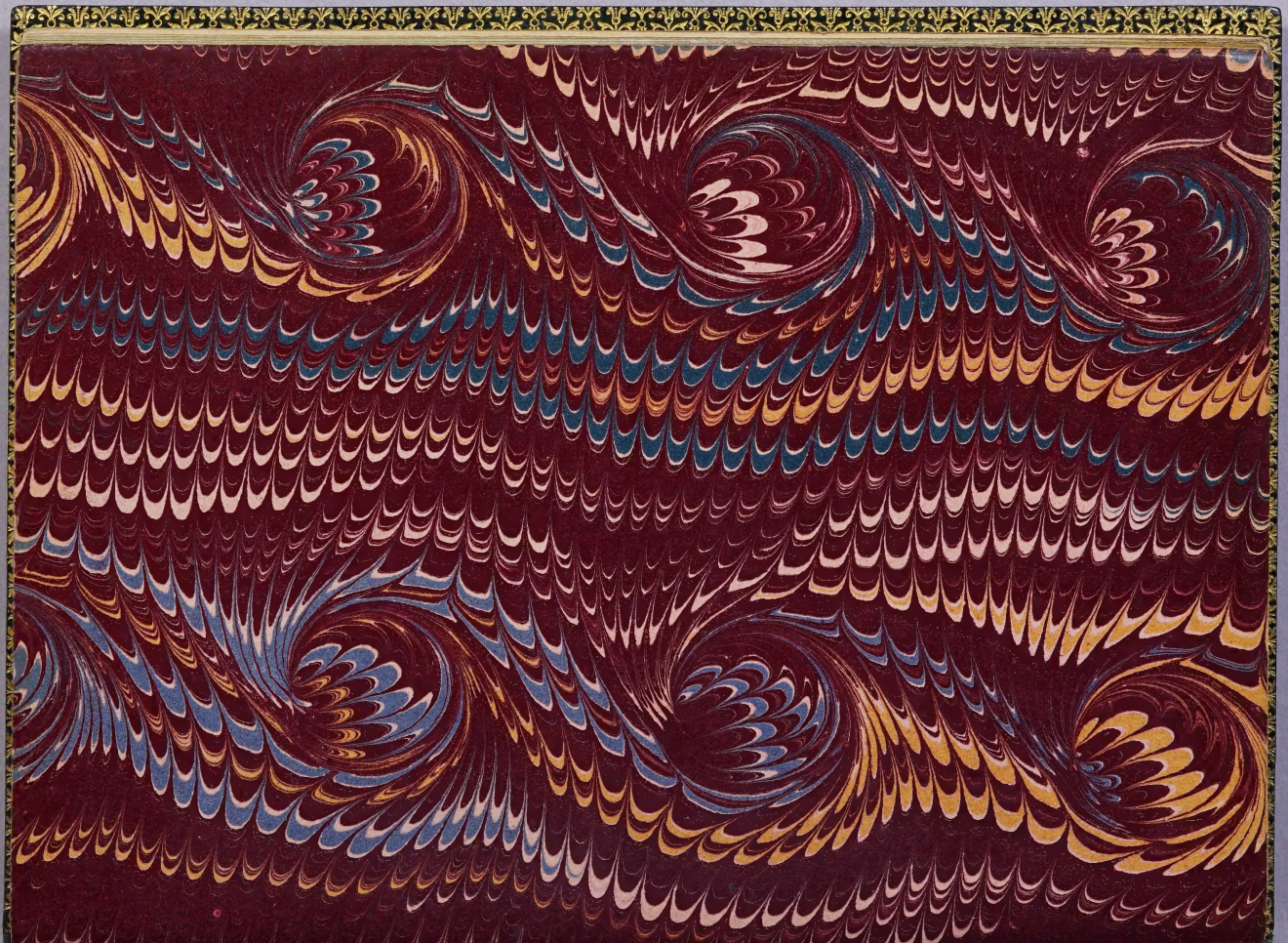
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